DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 133 381 UD 016 622

AUTHOR	Falk, William W.
TITLE	School Desegregation and the Status Attainment Process: Some Results from Rural Schools.
SPONS AGENCY	Louisiana State Univ., Baton Rouge. Agricultural Experiment Station.
REPORT NO	USDA(CSRS)-S-81
PUB DATE	Aug 76
NOTE	42p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society (New York, August 1976)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement; Aspiration; *Changing Attitudes; Educational Attitudes; High School Graduates; High School Students; Income; *Integration Effects; *Longitudinal Studies; *Negro Students; *Rural Schools; Social Mobility; Social Status; Statistical Analysis; Status Need

ABSTRACT

The primary goal of this study was to determine if attending desegregated schools has a measurable impact on mobility attitudes and status attainments. This study restricted itself to rural black respondents who had attended segregated-only or segregated and desegregated schools. Two lines of analysis were followed. The first dealt exclusively with a comparison of the levels of mobility aspirations, perceived blockages and assuredness, and actual educational attainment. The second type of analysis assessed the processual differences between segregated and desegregated students. In this case, three models were tested for both groups to see if the theorized causal linkages varied between groups. The findings of critical importance seem to be centered around the educational variables. First, when educational attitudes were regressed on each other, the coefficient between the 1968 and 1972 Levels of Educational Aspiration was much larger for the desegregated group. This suggested that the desegregated group had much greater stability in maintaining its educational attitudes. Second, the larger difference in the relationships between the 1968 level of Educational Aspiration and Educational Attainment suggests that a much greater correspondence between educational plans and educational behavior exists for the desegregated group. These findings suggest that youth who attend desegregated schools differ somehow in the process of attitude formation and maintenance, and status attainment. (Author/JM)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

ED133381

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND THE STATUS ATTAINMENT PROCESS: SOME RESULTS FROM RURAL SCHOOLS*

William W. Falk
Louisiana State University

OCT 1976
ERIC/CRESS
RECEIVED

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

UD016622

*Paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society annual meeting, August, 1976, New York. Development of this paper was sponsored by the Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station as a contribution to LAES Projects H-1780 and 1231R and CSRS Project S-81. The author thanks Kevin Smith for his comments and Beth Wroten, Allen Comfort, and John Womack for their assistance. The opinions expressed are those of the author.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND THE STATUS ATTAINMENT PROCESS: SOME RESULTS FROM RURAL SCHOOLS

The Problem

Status attainment research has been so much at the forefront of contemporary sociology as to have merited the status of a paradigm (Mullins, 1974). But early status attainment models (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sewell et al., 1969; 1970) almost exclusively for white males (Falk and Cosby, 1975). Only recently have studies been reported on blacks (Porter, 1974; Portes and Wilson, 1976) and women (Alexander and Eckland, 1974; Hout and Morgan, 1975; Trieman and Terrell, 1975; Featherman and Houser, 1976). Even with this expansion of populations considered, one important aspect within the status attainment process has been largely ignored--the possibility of differences in persons having attended racially segregated and desegregated schools.

With the 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Board of Education, the desegregation of American schools became a topic of concern for students, parents and policy makers and a topic of interest for social scientists who wondered about the possible effects of racially desegregated schools. More than two decades have passed since the Supreme Court decision, and our knowledge about the effects of school desegregation remains incredibly limited. This is especially true with respect to the differential social mobility patterns of students who have attended segregated and desegregated schools. The primary goal

of this study was to address the general question: Does attending desegregated schools have a measurable impact on mobility attitudes and status attainment?

The question was important for both theoretical and more pragmatic reasons. Theoretically, Carithers (1970) and St. John (1975) have pointed out that little is known about the outcomes of school desegregation under varying conditions. Crain and Weisman (1972), among others, have discussed the notion of "contextual effects," an effect thought to occur by virtue of one's social environment. If desegregation yields results different from segregation, then the racial configuration of one's school may offer a contextual effect which significantly influences attitudes and behavior. If (and this is a big "if") desegregation results in outcomes unlike those in segregated schools, this may be more grist for the desegregationists' mill; conversely, a more neutral finding or a finding of negative results may offer support for maintaining the "neighborhood school."

To assess the effects of desegregation, this study restricted itself to rural black respondents who had attended segregated-only or segregated and desegregated schools. Two lines of analysis were followed. The first dealt exclusively with a comparison of the levels of mobility aspirations, perceived blockages and assuredness, and actual educational attainment.[1] The second type of analysis assessed the processual differences between segregated and desegregated students. In this case three models were tested for both groups to see if the theorized causal linkages varied between groups. Diagrammatically, the

models are depicted in Figure 1. The attempt to model the influence of attitudes on attitudes, attitudes on behavior, and behavior on attitudes has made this study an exploratory one. In fact, as Crain and Weisman (1972) have asserted, theirs' has been the only study to assess what effects segregation and desegregation have had on actual status attainment.

[Figure 1 About Here]

Relevant Literature

Two types of literature bear mentioning in this study. The first is that dealing with contextual effects. The most recent work on this has been that of Alexander and Eckland (1974) and less directly relevant has been the work of Richer (1975). Earlier studies have also dealt with contextual effects, although not always with reference to school desegregation. In particular, this has been true in the work of Wilson (1959) with reference to "normative climates" and Boyd (1966), Meyer (1966) and Nelson (1972) concentrating on the creation of a particular social milieu and Rosenbaum (1975) on "tracking." More directly related has been the work by school desegregation researchers like McPartland (1968) who investigated "environmental effects," Teele and Mayo (1969) who discuss the "climate within the school" and other similar arguments by Crain and Weisman (1973), Levine (1970), Lewis (1969), Morsell (1969), Rodgers and Bullock (1972) and St. John (1970). In addition, the debate between Armor (1972; 1973) and Pettigrew et al. (1973) is around somewhat similar arguments related to busing and the outcomes of integrated schooling. And, Coleman et al. (1966) and Jencks et al. have noted (1972) within-school effects on educational

achievement due to peer group interaction and family background (leading to SES differences between schools).

A second type of literature deals with school desegregation and mobility attitudes, in particular educational and occupational aspirations, and educational attainment. We can say that the mobility attitudes of black students have been higher in predominantly white schools (Curtis, 1968; Fisher, 1971; Knapp and Hammer, 1971; Reniston, 1973), lower in predominantly white schools (St. John, 1966, 1975; White and Knight, 1973; Wilson, 1959), and very similar in either predominantly white and black schools (Crutis, 1968; Falk, 1975; Hall and Wiant, 1973; Knight, 1970). This three-option summary indicates a very balanced spread of findings--no one finding dominates. It suggests the possibility of expecting higher aspirations, lower aspirations or no differences when comparing segregated and desegregated groups. But this literature is restricted to comparing levels of attitudes; it says nothing about the stability of aspirations or the formative process. Also, Crain and Weisman (1972) have reported that blacks attending desegregated schools have higher educational attainment than blacks attending segregated schools.

We know that two racial situations may be experienced--one segregated, one desegregated. The theoretical position taken is that this leads to different contextual effects. One "benefit" of desegregated schooling may be the tempering of unrealistically high aspirations. In the social structure, there are a limited number of status positions at any point in time. Additionally, the requisite conditions for

achieving these positions will not be met by all aspirants. In fact, in American society in general, and in East Texas in particular, whites will more often fare successfully at attaining higher status positions than will blacks. If the contextual effect of experiencing desegregated schools holds true, then it seems plausible to posit that attending desegregated schools will have an effect of making aspirations (attitudes) and attainment (behavior) more consonant. In a certain sense the segregated school is an insular environment--it provides for opportunities to interact only with others of one's own race. It is, then, unlike the larger society of which one is a member; the larger society being of multi-racial composition. It can be argued that the bi-racial competition in desegregated schools is more reality-bound than its uni-racial counterpart; it more closely corresponds with the society-at-large. If a contextual effect does occur, it may sensitize black students to their chances for attaining expected statuses.

The thesis of a contextual effect is that desegregated schools present a more accurate appraisal of the "real world" than do segregated schools. Desegregated schools may not offer the world as seen through rose-colored glasses. Rather, the general society-at-large, complete with its flaws of racial prejudice, favoritism toward some and not others, etc. may be found in the desegregated setting. In this study, the critical element found in the desegregated school but not found in the segregated school is the potential contact between black and white students. It is this dimension that provides the desegregated school with its uniqueness. A segregated school is, by

definition, without contact with certain others; it is an isolated experience. It is missing what we have called the "reality" dimension (see Crain, 1970 and 1971; Crain and Weisman, 1973; and Lewis, 1969 for similar statements). Often there is truth in the phrase "not what you know, but who you know." It is that kind of burden that becomes apparent when one uses Turner's (1960) dichotomous categories of competitive (what you know) versus sponsored (who you know) mobility.

Assuming that there is a desire by blacks for assimilation and participation in American society, their competitors will often be whites. Desegregated schools offer a microcosm of this same type of social arrangement--whites and blacks competing for a limited number of rewards (grades, positions in student organizations, or whatever). The long-term effect of this, of attending desegregated schools, may lead to greater support for Katz's (1964) equal contact hypothesis. In the short-run, desegregated schools seem likely to sensitize black students to what has often been an inferior educational background (Hicherson, 1965; Pettigrew, 1965; St. John, 1966, 1975). Additionally, there is the confounding problem of taking black students (often from lower-income origins) and putting them with white students (often from relatively higher income origins). The problem then becomes a tripartite one: (1) a new racial mix; (2) in a relative sense, poorly-educated people with better-educated people; and (3) disparate social origins. A fourth problem is the one that we all experience when we move from a familiar social setting (the old school) to a new, unfamiliar social setting (the new school). As it most often occurs,

this means blacks being the outsiders and having to attend previously all-white schools.

The desegregated students in this study went from attending all-black schools to attending racially desegregated schools. In a sense, they exchanged one reality for a new one (akin to Berger and Luckmann's [1966] "alternation"). Processually, this means that there may have been a scaling down of mobility aspirations in light of the possibility of ever attaining them. At least this is what may have occurred in the desegregated setting. For segregated students, however, there was no new reality in the last year of high school. There was merely a continuance or maintenance of one's social reality as it had always been constructed. Barring some major social environmental disruption, the status quo was preserved. Thus for segregated students, there was no interjection of an influence which could cause a tempering of one's mobility aspirations. Although both segregated and desegregated students found themselves closer to actually entering the labor market in their last year or two of high school, it was only the desegregated students who had an opportunity to compete and possibly interact with white students; it was only the desegregated students who experienced a unique intervening process late in their high school careers.

What we were led to expect is the following. First, the type of school one attended (i.e., segregated versus desegregated) would affect the relationship between attitudes over time. Second, the short-run effect of divergent school contexts would lead to greater instability for desegregated students since they would have gone from

segregated to desegregated schools. Thus one would expect greater instability in their attitudes. Conversely, one would expect that the mobility attitudes of segregated students, not subjected to the desegregation experience, would remain more stable; i.e., people would be less likely to change (either raise or lower) their mobility attitudes. Third, the long-run effect of experiencing divergent school contexts might have been such that segregated students would begin to lower their mobility attitudes in line with what may have been more feasibly attainable. Assuming that desegregated students had lowered (or at least changed) their attitudes at an earlier point in time, then it would be expected that the attitudes of segregated students would show greater instability when they were related from an earlier time (e.g., high school graduation) to a later time (e.g., several years after high school graduation). In short, when comparing the mobility attitudes of segregated and desegregated students as they occurred in the long-run, desegregated students might have been expected to evince comparatively greater stability than segregated students.

For desegregated students, attitudes were expected to be lower, thus bringing them more in line with eventual attainment. For segregated students, however, this was not the expected case. It was expected that their comparatively high attitudes would not be realized in equally high attainment. It was posited that they would have lower attainment, lower attainment relative to their attitudes, than the desegregated students. Thus, for the segregated students, there would be comparatively greater dissimilarity than similarity between attitudes and behavior.

When we considered the effect of attainment on mobility attitudes, it was expected that the relationships between lower attainment and higher mobility attitudes (segregated students) would be of a smaller magnitude than the relationships between attainment and mobility attitudes which were more nearly alike (desegregated students). Given the recurrent theme in this study, that the social context of desegregated schools may offer a more reality-grounded setting in which to form attitudes and facilitate attainment, it seemed plausible to expect students from segregated schools to possibly maintain mobility attitudes that were higher than students from desegregated schools. In turn, when their actual attainment was related to their mobility attitudes, the relationship would predictably be smaller than for the desegregated students. For desegregated students, we expected a greater correspondence between attainment and mobility attitudes.

The Sample

Information used in our analysis was from a panel of high school sophomores (Wave I-1966) and seniors (Wave I-1968) and a post-high school follow-up done four years later (Wave III-1972). The original high school study was concerned with selected mobility-linked attitudes among rural youth in Texas. The 1972 follow-up was essentially an extension of the first studies into the early adult years. In the present study the sample was restricted to those youth with parental socioeconomic scores, using the Duncan (1961) index, of 56 or less. The score of 56 was chosen because it was a natural breaking point (the

next score being 72) and this maximized homogeneity in the control and experimental groups. Further justification is found for this procedure when it is realized that only eight youths were lost by this process.

The three counties which constituted the study site were selected because of their high proportion of rural residents and the high proportion of blacks in the population. Each county was classified as 100% rural by the 1960 Census and each had a substantial black population; the percentage black ranged from 31% to 51% in 1960. Each county also had a heavy dependency on agricultural enterprises and little industrialization--there was only one firm in any of the three counties that employed more than twenty workers in 1964. All three counties had a recent history of high rates of out-migration of their youth to metropolitan centers. Other indicators of the social and economic conditions prevalent in the study area are: a stable or declining population between 1960 and 1970; a low median level of education, with relatively few high school graduates (in none of the three counties had more than one quarter of the population graduated from high school); and, a low median level of income, ranging in 1960 from a low of $1737 to a high of $2875.

Design of the Research: An Accidental Quasi-Experimental Field Study

During the third wave (1972) interviews with the panel, it became apparent that the data set afforded an unusual opportunity to assess the effects of initial desegregation on aspirations and early attainment since desegregation had been introduced in the sampling areas between

the sophomore and senior data collection. Thus the 1966 survey provided the basis for before-observations; it included all sophomore students present in the thirteen segregated black high schools on the day the group-administered interviews were conducted. The first after-measure was in the 1968 survey by which time 42% (N=57) of the students were attending five segregated schools (two of which had merged between 1966 and 1968) and 58% (N=77) were attending six newly desegregated schools. The 1968 observations gave us our quasi-experimental and quasi-control groups[2] and the potential for estimating the short-run effects of desegregation. The 1972 interviews, with the same panel, provided the information for estimating long-run effects of desegregation.

We have chosen to characterize this near experimental situation as an "accidental quasi-experiment." It was 'accidental' in that neither the problem nor the design was anticipated prior to the collection of the data. It was 'quasi-experimental' in that several but not all of the conditions necessary for rigorous field experimentation were present (Campbell, 1957; Campbell and Stanley, 1963).[3]

Measures

The following procedures were used to operationalize the variables included in the analysis. When repeated measures were taken at all three points in time, identical measurement procedures were used. Main income-earner's occupation (1966) was coded using Duncan (1961) SEI scores. Educational attainment (1972) was coded: 1, for less than high

school; 2, high school graduate; 3, post-high school vocational training; 4, junior college--associate degree; 5, 4-year college - bachelor's degree; 6, graduate degree. Educational aspiration (1966, 1968, and 1972) and educational expectation (1966, 1968, and 1972) were coded the same as educational attainment; aspirations were elicited by asking "If you could have as much schooling as you desired..." while expectations were elicited by asking "How much education do you really expect to have?". Occupational aspiration (1966, 1968, and 1972) and occupational expectation (1966, 1968, and 1972) were elicited by questions similar to those for educational attitudes and were coded using the Duncan SEI. Level of occupational aspiration (1966, 1968, and 1972) was calculated by taking occupational aspiration and occupational expectation for each year, adding them, and dividing by two. Level of educational aspiration (1966, 1968, and 1972) was calculated the same as level of occupational aspiration except educational aspirations and expectations were utilized.

Results

The matrix of zero-order correlations, means and standard deviations for both segregated and desegregated groups is reported in Table 1. Most of the correlations were as expected with one notable exception--the weak correlation between LEA68 and LEA72 for the segregated group. However, segregated LOA's were consistently strong as were desegregated LOA's. Desegregated LEA's were also consistently large with a high correlation between LEA66 and LEA72. Thus, for both segregated and desegregated groups, educational attitudes measured in 1966 were highly associated with like attitudes in 1972--in fact more

highly associated than were 1968 measures. In general, most correlations were higher for the desegregated group which suggested what might be found in the path analysis.

[Table 1 About Here]

Attitudinal Models

Data for the attitudinal models are presented in Table 2. It is possible to examine both consistency and cross-lagged paths (Heise, 1970). When we examined the consistency paths for segregated youth, it was apparent that LOA evinced greater stability than LEA. While the LOA paths varied only slightly, the LEA paths changed from a strong initial effect to a very weak effect. In general, the greatest stability was in the high school rather than post-high school period. The cross-lagged effects also varied somewhat. Mutual dependency was found in both 1968 and 1972 measures. Although the relationships were reciprocal, LEA66 had a greater effect on LOA68 than did LOA66 on LEA68. In the 1972 measures, the relationships were changed so that LOA68 had a slightly larger effect on LEA72 than did LEA68 on LOA72; but in this case, the magnitude of the effects was more nearly equal. In sum, each attitude did have an effect on the other although the magnitude of the effects varied.

[Table 2 About Here]

When the coefficients of determination (R^2's) are examined it is apparent that the model had marginal explanatory power. The greatest amount of variance explained was eighteen percent for both LEA68 and

LOA72; a similar amount of variance was explained for LOA68 (sixteen percent). The enigma was LEA72 for which the model could only account for five percent of the variance. The problematic aspect of this was exemplified by the path from LOA68 to LEA72 which was much stronger than the path from LEA68. Thus there was more association between LEA72 and a related attitude than between LEA72 and an earlier measure of itself--an anomaly to be certain.

When we examined data for the desegregated group, the LEA consistency paths varied little and seemed to be more stable than the comparable LOA paths. For both LEA and LOA, the greatest stability was in the post-high school period. Similar stability was found in the cross-lagged paths where mutual dependency was observed in 1968 and 1972. While LEA had a greater effect on LOA in 1968 than did LOA on LEA, the reciprocal effects were nearly equal in 1972.

The coefficients of determination reveal that the model did have explanatory power. The weakest relationships were in the 1968 dependent variables with fifteen percent of the variance in LEA and twenty percent of the variance in LOA explained. When the consistency and cross-lagged paths are examined from 1968 to 1972 variables, it is not surprising that the R^2's were equal--thirty-three percent explained variance for both LEA and LOA. The power of the effect of two mobility attitudes on later states of themselves is especially illustrative since one-third of the total variance in the dependent variables is being accounted for by this theorized causal linkage.

Behavioral Models

The behavioral model was identical to the attitudinal model except that it included educational attainment (EDATT) as an intervening variable between 1968 and 1972 measures. When EDATT was included, it was possible to estimate the effect of attitudinal variables on EDATT, the effect of EDATT on attitudinal variables, and to observe any change in the consistency and cross-lagged paths between attitudes.

For the segregated group, neither LEA68 nor LOA68 had an especially strong effect on EDATT; oddly enough, LOA had a stronger effect than did LEA, atain illustrating the poor predictive power of LEA68 in the model for the segregated group. EDATT had strong effects on both LEA72 and LOA72, with the effect on the latter somewhat stronger than on the former. The inclusion of EDATT in the model reduced the previously minimal effect of LEA68 on LEA72 to an effect of virtually zero (.012). A reduction also was observed in the path from LOA68 to LOA72 although this path was still of some magnitude. Similar reductions were observed in the cross-lagged paths.

[Table 3 About Here]

The inclusion of EDATT was especially noticeable in the increase in the coefficients of determination. Although only six percent of the variance was explained for EDATT, the R^2 for LEA72 increased to twenty percent of the variance being explained. This was an increase of fifteen percent over the attitudes-only model. A similar increase was observed for LOA72 which went from an R^2 of .184 in the attitudinal model to an R^2 of .398 in the behavioral model. It was very apparent, then, that EDATT was having a significant effect on both dependent variables.

The inclusion of EDATT for the desegregated group led to several key findings. First, both paths from LEA68 and LOA68 to EDATT were of some magnitude with the path from LEA being the stronger of the two thus both attitudinal variables appeared to have predictive power for a behavioral measure. Second, EDATT had strong effects on both LEA72 and LOA72, thus indicating the potential power of a behavioral measure to predict a related attitude. Third, the inclusion of EDATT succeeded in reducing the strength of both consistency and cross-lagged paths between LEA's and LOA's. However, both consistency paths still indicated a direct effect and the cross-lagged paths also revealed effects as well as indicating the continuation of a mutual dependency between the attitudinal variables.

The fairly strong paths from LEA68 and LOA68 to EDATT resulted in an R^2 of .279; both variables, and especially LEA, were good predictors of EDATT and the relationship between LEA and EDATT indicates the ability of the desegregated group to transfer their attitudes into somewhat consonant behavior. A similar conclusion is reached in examining the paths and R^2 for LEA72. The power of the three independent variables is well illustrated in this case since fifty-four percent of the variation was explained compared to the attitudes-only model (which had an R^2 of .327). There was also an increase in the explained variance for LOA72. While not as great as the increase in LEA, it was raised to .461 (as opposed to .330 in the attitudes-only model).

The Full Attitudinal-Behavioral Model

Whereas the previous models were tested to examine effects of attitudes and behavior on measures of each other, and, in particular,

to note indicators of stability, a third model was tested to see to what degree the explained variation could be increased for the three post-1968 dependent variables. The data on this are reported in Table 4.

[Table 4 About Here]

When we examined the coefficients of determination for both segregated and desegregated groups, it was readily apparent that the addition of two more additudinal measures had little influence on the attitudinal variables. However, for both groups, there was a large increase in the amount of explained variation for EDATT. This increase was about fourteen percent for the segregated group and sixteen percent for the desegregated group. Interestingly, for both groups, LEA66 had a more pronounced effect on EDATT than did LEA68. Thus the earlier attitudinal measure was the better predictor of educational behavior in each case. This would indicate that attitudes in the sophomore year were more closely aligned with eventual attainment than were attitudes in the senior year--at a point in time closer to actual conclusion of the educational career.

The Models Compared Between Segregated and Desegregated Groups[4]

Prior to conducting any analysis, certain propositions and hypotheses were stated, each set of propositions and hypotheses being restricted in scope to one part of the larger model. Additionally it must be recalled that the panel was low income and rural, thus each proposition considered is inferentially prefaced by the phrase "Controlling

for socioeconomic status and place of residence (nonmetropolitan)..."

The first proposition and its accompanying hypotheses was:

PROPOSITION I: The racial configuration of the school one attends will affect the magnitude of the relationships between attitudes measured at different points in time.

Hypothesis 1: Between 1966 and 1968, the magnitude of the relationship between LOA's, LEA's and LOA and LEA will be positive, but smaller, for the youth who attended desegregated schools than for the youth who attended segregated schools.

Hypothesis 2: Between 1968 and 1972, the magnitude of the relationship between LOA's, LEA's and LOA and LEA will be positive, but larger, for the youth who attended desegregated schools than for youth who attended segregated schools.

Following the admonition of Schoenberg (1972), it is possible to compare the metric coefficients in the attitudinal model for the segregated and desegregated groups. It was apparent that the model behaved differently for the two groups. The paths between the 1966 and 1968 observations suggest at least some support for Hypothesis 1. While the paths were only slightly different for the two groups, the larger paths and explained variation for the segregated group was in the posited direction. A much sharper contrast was in the relationships between the 1968 and 1972 observations. The model run for the segregated group evinced a very small effect between LEA68 and LEA72; a somewhat larger effect between LOA68 and LEA72; and a statistically significant relationship between LOA68 and LOA72. On the other hand, the model run for the desegregated group evinced sizeable (i.e., all of statistical significance) effects between all 1968 and 1972 observations. The difference was especially striking

in the path from LEA68 to LEA72; while the unstandardized effect was very small for the segregated group (.042), it was comparatively large for the desegregated group (.382). Additionally, the variance explained for the two groups differed. Whereas the two 1968 attitudinal variables accounted for only five percent of LEA72 and eighteen percent of LOA72 for the segregated group, these same variables accounted for thirty-three percent of LEA72 and thirty-three percent of LOA72 for the desegregated group. Thus Hypothesis 2 was supported--the paths were as predicted.

Since data were available on early educational attainment, it was also desirable to see what effect attitudes had on behavior and, in turn, what effect behavior had on later attitudes. This led to the inclusion of educational attainment as a variable occurring between the 1968 and 1972 observations. The first test of this was stated as:

PROPOSITION II: The racial configuration of the school one attends will affect the magnitude of the relationship between mobility attitudes and educational behavior.

Hypothesis 3: The magnitude of the relationship between LOA (1968) and educational attainment and LEA (1968) and educational attainment will be positive and larger for the youth who attended desegregated schools than for the youth who attended segregated schools.

Support for this proposition and hypothesis was found. The paths revealed very different effects in the model for the desegregated and segregated groups. Neither of the paths between LEA78 nor LOA68 and EDATT were significant for the segregated group, Table 3.

However, for the desegregated group, the paths from both LEA68 and LOA68 to EDATT were significant. The comparison of least consequence was that in the path from LOA68 to EDATT. The more striking finding was in the path from LEA68 to EDATT. The path for the segregated group was only .063 whereas the same path was .314--or nearly five times as great--for the desegregated group. Not unexpectedly, a similar difference was found in the explained variation--.06 for the segregated group while R^2 for the desegregated group was .28.

One final set of relationships was tested. These dealt with the effects of educational attainment on mobility attitudes and their theorized relationship was stated as follows:

PROPOSITION III: The racial configuration of the school one attends will affect the magnitude of the relationship between educational behavior and mobility attitudes.

Hypothesis 4: The magnitude of the relationship between educational attainment and LOA (1972) and educational attainment and LEA (1972) will be positive and larger for the youth who attended desegregated schools than for the youth who attended desegregated schools than for the youth who attended segregated schools.

Support for this proposition and hypothesis was also found, although the analysis yielded somewhat paradoxical findings. The paths from EDATT to LEA72 and LOA72 were significant for both the segregated and desegregated groups. Given this, and the difficulty of comparing coefficients (especially where all of them are significant), the safest conclusion would seem to be one of general similarity for these relationships in the model. In a path-to-path comparison, the only difference of any note was that the

EDATT to LEA72 path was larger for the desegregated group while the EDATT to LOA72 path was larger for the segregated group; again, the paths were quite similar. A more meaningful difference was in the coefficients of determination since greater percentages of the variance were explained for the desegregated group (54 and 46 percent for LEA72 and LOA72) than the segregated group (21 and 40 percent for LEA72 and LOA72) when EDATT was included in the model. Although the difference in variance accounted for was not especially large between LOA's for the two groups, the difference between LEA's (54 vs. 21 percent, or a difference of over thirty percent) was a dramatic one.

At the same time that these relationships were being tested, analysis was also done using the attitudinal variables in 1968 as independent variables to assess their effects on later attitudinal states in conjunction with educational attainment. This provided a test of the effects of LEA and LOA on later states of themselves and on each other, with special interest in how these effects were mediated by the inclusion of EDATT. When this analysis was run, the effects of the attitudinal variables were substantially reduced.

The model for the segregated group evinced a change in one effect which was initually weak to an effect which was virtually zero; this was in the path from LEA68 to LEA72. In other words, what direct effect there was became mediated through EDATT--the behavioral dimension was of greater importance in the theorized causal linkage. Other reductions were also observed for the segregated group although none were of comparable magnitude in terms of an effect being reduced to nearly

zero. In each case however, EDATT was found to evince the strongest effect, indicating its importance as an intervening variable between early and later attitudinal states.

The analysis for the desegregated group revealed findings similar to those just cited. Whereas all of the effects between attitudinal variables had been of statistical significance, when EDATT was included in the analysis, only one of these effects (between LOA68 and LOA72) remained as statistically significant. Two of these decreased in effect were of what appeared to be extreme magnitude. First, the effect of LEA68 on LEA72 was reduced by half (from .397 to .198). Second, the effect of LEA68 on LOA72 was reduced from .276 to .118.

Several summary comments about this process modeling are in order. First, the theorized models appeared to be of the greatest explanatory power for the desegregated group. Paths that were very similar for the segregated and desegregated groups between 1966 and 1968 variables underwent major changes in magnitude between the 1968 and 1972 variables. This was true for both direct and cross-lagged effects and in terms of the total explained variance for all post-1968, attitudinal dependent variables. This finding offerred strong support for the hypothesized differences expected to occur between the segregatedand desegregated groups. The desegregated group simply had greater stability of attitudinal states between the latter two waves of data collection. Second, the individual effects and explained variance when EDATT was regressed on LEA68 and LOA68 evinced support for a greater correspondence between these variables for the desegregated group. This was especially true

when assessing the effect of LEA68 on EDATT. Again, this was as hypothesized. Third, when EDATT was included as an intervening variable between measures of attitudinal states, it was found to have greater effect on LEA72 for the desegregated group but less effect for the desegregated group on LOA72 and the explained variance for LEA72 was much larger for the desegregated group. Fourth, EDATT appeared to be highly important as it mediated the effects (direct and cross-lagged) of attitudinal variables on themselves and each other.

Discussion

Each proposition tested in this study posited that the racial configuration of the school one attended would have some effect on attitudinal and behavioral states. Sooner than state each hypothesis in a null form (with the exception of 1966 when equality between groups was an a priori assumption), all hypotheses were stated in a theoretically deterministic manner. Essentially, these take on the form of "if..., then..." statements. For example, "If blacks attend desegregated schools, then their occupational aspirations will be lower"; implicitly, this is followed by the unstated phrase "than blacks who attend segregated schools."

Given the similarity of the paths between-groups from 1966 to 1968, little need be said about this except that, apparently, the process of attitude stability and fluctuation was quite similar for both groups. But in the effects of 1968 on 1972 variables, and in the effects on and from educational behavior, extreme differences were found

between the groups. The findings of critical importance seem to be centered around the educational variables. First, when educational attitudes were regressed on each other, the coefficient between LEA68 and LEA72 was much larger for the desegregated group. This suggests that the desegregated group had much greater stability in maintaining its educational attitudes; comparatively more floundering occurred in the segregated group. Thus, although the level of educational attitudes was similar, the process of maintaining these same attitudes was different for the two groups. Second, the large difference in the paths from LEA68 to EDATT suggests that a much greater correspondence between educational plans and educational behavior exists for the desegregated group. In other words, youth in the desegregated group were more likely to transfer their desired education into actual attainment. Of all the findings in this study, theoretically, this may be the most important. It strongly suggests that youth who attend desegregated schools differ somehow in the process of attitude formation and maintenance, and status attainment. This finding illustrates the importance of examining <u>both</u> a comparison of levels of attitudes and attainment as well as a comparison of the status attainment process. Third, when EDATT was included in the path models tested in this study, a radical change in the magnitude of relationships between all 1968 and 1972 variables was observed. This held for both the segregated and desegregated groups. While some relationships between attitudinal variables were quite strong, they paled by comparison to the effects

resulting from EDATT. Thus while an attitude at one time may be a good predictor of the same attitude at a later time, a more theoretically important and perhaps better predictor may be some behavioral dimension related to an attitude.

The path models tested here were admittedly delimited. Indeed, testing a fully developed, theoretically-grounded status attainment model would be a project unto itself, even if only one population were analyzed. The work of many of the status attainment researchers (cited throughout this study) has already demonstrated the tremendous complexity of the status attainment process. For the purpose of this study, the goal of the models was primarily to test for differences in stability of mobility attitudes between segregated and desegregated groups and to assess what effect the inclusion of educational behavior would have. A more developed complex model would certainly lead to conclusions other than those reached here.

In evaluating the results of this study, the reader should be cautioned on several points. Although the research design was a quasi-experiment and the temporal scope of the data exceeds that of comparable studies, certain very desirable attributes of experimentation were absent. The most serious of these was the absence of randomization procedures in determining experimental and control groups and of course, the inability of the researchers to manipulate the introduction of desegregation. Second, the research was conducted in three low-income rural counties in East Texas. There is no reason to believe the quality of the introduction of desegregation is directly comparable to

non-rural groups or to Deep South rural populations which have historically experienced difficulty in the desegregation process. Third, the facilities offered to youth in both segregated and desegregated situations may have been of approximately the same quality thus the transferal of black youth to previously all white schools may have resulted in no real change in these factors. Fourth, since the desegregation experience was introduced in-between the sophomore and senior years of high school, the exposure to a desegregated experience may not have been of sufficient time to get a really good estimate of its effect on mobility-linked attitudes and early adult attainment.

Finally there is the troublesome concept of equal opportunity. How "equal" the opportunity was in the desegregated schools remains unknown. What is known from this study is that (a) the levels of responses varied little between segregated and desegregated groups, (b) where levels did vary, desegregated students were comparatively more pessimistic (or, perhaps, realistic) about the potentially detrimental effects of race and schools attended (see footnote 1), and (c) the theorized educational attainment process was more applicable to the desegregated group.

In closing, two conjectural comments about equal opportunity are offered. In the job market, whites may constitute the primary competitors for vacant positions. Thus while the opportunity may not be equal, at least there is a chance for blacks in desegregated schools to interact with those people who comprise the majority of both American society and the labor market. Second, the theorized educational attainment process model worked so much better for the desegregated group

that it is impossible not to wonder how this could have occurred simply by chance. Since the segregated and desegregated groups were so nearly alike on so many other facets (i.e., levels) of mobility, we are left with the assumption that the desegregation experience resulted in a stabilizing of attitudes and the transferral of educational attitudes into behavior. If further research supports this finding, it could be of great importance for policy makers who must decide on whether or not they wish to support greater desegregation in the public schools.

REFERENCES

Alexander, Karl L. and Bruce K. Eckland
1974 "Sex differences in the educational attainment process." American Sociological Review 39 (October):668-82.

Armor, David J.
1972 "The evidence on busing." The Public Interest (Summer):90-126.

1973 "The double double standard: a reply." The Public Interest (Winter):119-131.

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann
1966 The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

Blau, Peter M. and Otis D. Duncan
1967 The American Occupational Structure. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Boyle, Richard P.
1966 "The effects of high school on students' aspirations." American Journal of Sociology 71 (May):628-639.

Campbell, Donald T.
1957 "Factors relevant to the validity of experiments in social settings." Psychological Bulletin 54 (July):297-312.

Campbell, Donald T. and Julian C. Stanley
1963 Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company.

Carithers, Martha
1970 "School desegregation and racial cleavage, 1954-1970: A review of the literature." Journal of Social Issues 26 (Autumn):25-48.

Coleman, James S., Ernest Q. Campbell, Carol J. Hobson, James McPartland, Alexander M. Mood, Frederic D. Weinfeld, and Robert L. York
1966 Equality of Educational Opportunity. U.S. Government Printing Office (Washington, D.C.).

Crain, Robert L.
1970 "School integration and the occupational achievement of Negroes." American Journal of Sociology 78 (January):593-606.

1971 "School integration and the academic achievement of Negroes." Sociology of Education 44 (Winter):1-26.

Crain, Robert L. and Carolyn S. Weisman
1972 Discrimination, Personality, and Achievement: A Survey of Northern Blacks. New York: Seminar Press.

Curtis, Byron
1968 "The effects of segregation on the vocational aspirations of Negro students." Dissertation Abstracts 29 (September):772.

Duncan, Otis D.
1961 "A socio-economic index for all occupations." Pp. 109-161 and Appendix B in Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Otis D. Duncan, Paul K. Hatt, and C. C. North (eds.), Occupations and Social Status. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Falk, William W.
1975 "School desegregation, mobility attitudes, and early attainment of rural, black youth." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Department of Sociology, Texas A&M University, College Station.

Featherman, David L. and Robert M. Hauser
1976 "Sexual inequalities and socioeconomic achievement in the U.S., 1962-1973." American Sociological Review 41 (June): 462-483.

Fisher, James E.
1971 "An exploration of the effect of desegregation on the educational plans of Negro and white boys." Dissertation Abstracts 31 (April):5548.

Hall, John A. and Harry V. Wiant, Jr.
1973 "Does school desegregation change occupational goals of Negro males?" Journal of Vocational Behavior 3 (April): 175-179.

Heise, David R.
1970 "Causal inference from panel data." Pp. 3-27 in Edgar F. Borgatta and George W. Bohrnstedt, Sociological Methodology: 1970. San Francisco: Josey-Bass, Inc.

Hout, Michael and William R. Morgan
1975 "Race and sex variations in the causes of the expected attainments of high school seniors." American Journal of Sociology 81 (September):364-394.

Jencks, Christopher, Marshall Smith, Henry Acland, Mary Jo Bane, David Cohen, Herbert Gintis, Barbara Heyns, Stephen Michelson
1972 Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Katz, Irwin
1964 "Review of evidence relating to effects of desegregation on the intellectual performance of Negroes." American Psychologist 19 (June):381-399.

Knapp, Melvin and Eliot Hammer
1971 "Racial composition of southern schools and adolescent educational and occupational aspirations and expectations." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Memphis, January.

Knight, James H.
1970 "The interpersonal values and aspiration levels of Negro seniors in totally integrated and segregated Southern high schools." Dissertation Abstracts 31 (November):2110.

Levine, Daniel U.
1970 "Differences between segregated and desegregated settings." Journal of Negro Education 39 (Spring):139-147.

Lewis, Charles E., Jr.
1969 School Integration, Occupational Expectations and Occupational Education: A Study of North Carolina High School Boys. Raleigh, North Carolina: Center for Occupational Education.

McPartland, James
1968 "The segregated student in desegregated schools." Baltimore: John Hopkins University, Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, Report No. 21, June.

Morsell, John A.
1969 "Racial desegregation and integration in public education." Journal of Negro Education 38 (Summer):276-284.

Mullins, Nicholaus C.
1973 Theories and Theory Groups in Contemporary American Sociology. New York: Harper and Row.

Nelson, Joel I.
1972 "High school context and college plans: the impact of social structure on aspirations." American Sociological Review 37 (April):143-148.

Pettigrew, Thomas F.
1965 "Continuing barriers to desegregated education in the South." Sociology of Education 38 (Winter):99-111.

Pettigrew, Thomas F., E. L. Useem, C. Normand, and M. S. Smith
1973 "Busing: a review of the evidence." The Public Interest (Winter):88-118.

Porter, James N.
1974 "Race, socialization, and mobility in educational and early occupational attainment." American Sociological Review 39 (June):303-316.

Portes, Alejandro and Kenneth L. Wilson
1976 "Black-white differences in educational attainment." American Sociological Review 41 (June):414-431.

Reniston, Eugene G.
1973 "Levels of aspirations of black students as a function of significant others in integrated and segregated schools." Dissertation Abstracts 33 (June):7020-21.

Richer, Stephen
1975 "School effects: the case for grounded theory." Sociology of Education 48 (Fall):383-399.

Rodgers, Harrel R., Jr. and Charles S. Bullock, III
1972 "School desegregation: a policy analysis." Journal of Black Studies 2 (June):409-437.

Rosenbaum, James E.
1975 "The stratification of socialization processes." American Sociological Review 40 (February):48-54.

Schoenberg, Ronald
1972 "Strategies for meaningful comparison." Pp. 1-35 in Herbert L. Costner (ed.), Sociological Methodology: 1972. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc.

Sewell, William H., Archibald O. Haller, and George W. Ohlendorf
1970 "The educational and early occupational status attainment process: a replication and revision." American Sociological Review 35 (December):1014-1027.

Sewell, William H., Archibald O. Haller, and Alejandro Portes
1969 "The educational and early occupational status attainment processes." American Sociological Review 34 (February):82-92.

Specht, David and Richard D. Warren
1975 "On comparing causal models." Pp. 46-82 in David R. Heise (ed.), Sociological Methodology, 1976. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

St. John, Nancy H.
1966 "The effect of segregation on the aspirations of Negro youth." Harvard Educational Review 36 (Summer):284-294.

1970 "Desegregation and minority group performance." Review of Educational Research 40 (February):111-133.

1975 School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children. New York: Wiley-Interscience.

Teele, James E. and Clara Mayo
1969 "School integration: tumult and shame." Journal of Social Issues 25 (January):137-156.

Treiman, Donald J. and Kermit Terrell
1975 "Sex in the process of status attainment: a comparison of working women and men." American Sociological Review 40 (April):174-200.

Turner, Ralph
1960 "Sponsored and contest mobility and the school system." American Sociological Review 25 (December):855-867.

White, Kinnard and James H. Knight
1973 "School desegregation, SES, sex, and the aspirations of Southern Negro adolescents." Journal of Negro Education 42 (Winter):71-78.

Wilson, Alan B.
1959 "Residential segregation of social classes and aspirations of high school boys." American Sociological Review 24 (December):843-854.

FOOTNOTES

[1]This was extensively reported in Falk (1975). When statistical means were compared, the only differences of significance were found in 1968 when the desegregated group was more negative about both "race" and "schools attended" as they might affect one's occupational aspiration. Aside from these, virtually all other compared levels (including educational attainment) were not of statistical significance.

[2]One important criterion of experimentation is the determination of equality of the experimental and control groups. This criterion was satisfied in the present study. As reported in Falk (1975), both analysis of variance (for individual, mean comparisons) and multiple analysis of variance (to compare equality of the vectors for multiple variables) were run on the 1966 measures; since no differences of statistical significance were found, it was assumed that the two groups were more similar than dissimilar.

[3]From an experimental point of view, the factors involved in the determination of the quasi-experimental and control groups represented the greatest departure of the present design from that of "pure" experimentation. Since the design was in large-part accidental, the desirable procedures of randomization and perhaps matching of students was not utilized. It is doubtful that the local school boards would have allowed such procedures even if the study had been proposed in 1966. Nevertheless, since there was an absence of randomization and matching, the question of possible bias in the selection of students for either segregated or desegregated groups becomes a concern. That is, we would like to assume that the desegregation experience was the only unique variable (all other things being equal) introduced to the experimental but not to the control group. This may not have been so.

[4]One problem encountered in analyzing a model that is applied to different populations is how to make statistical comparisons. This problem holds both in comparing individual relationships as well as in comparing aggregate effects within the model as a whole. At this point, there is no consensus on the best technique for doing this. While Schoenberg (1972) has argued that such comparative analysis can be done with the unstandardized coefficients, Specht and Warren (1975) point out that Schoenberg--and others writing about causal modeling--has not specified the "procedures for determining whether their models are the same or different in ...[different] populations" (p. 47). Thus in this study, the discussion of how the models behaved for the segregated and desegregated groups is generally restricted to more abstract than point-by-point comparisons. What has been of most interest is the general adequacy or inadequacy of the models when applied to two analytically distinct groups.

Table 1. Zero-Order Correlations, Means and Standard Deviations for Segregated and Desegregated Groups[a]

Variables	LOA66	LOA68	LOA72	LEA66	LEA68	LEA72	EDATT	$\bar{X}$	SD
LOA66	-	.32**	.14	.05	.17	.06	-.07	46.94	18.94
LOA68	.34**	-	.40**	.25*	.40**	.23*	.24	46.14	19.80
LOA72	.21	.51**	-	.35**	.31**	.29**	.56**	42.33	17.13
LEA66	.12	.31*	.34**	-	.39**	.26*	.45**	4.20	1.24
LEA68	.14	.37**	.43**	.38**	-	.12	.16	4.09	1.16
LEA72	.17	.44**	.54**	.45**	.50**	-	.44**	4.52	1.20
EDATT	.34**	.40**	.60**	.54**	.47**	.69**	-	2.70	1.04
$\bar{X}$	49.50	50.31	44.23	4.48	4.06	4.36	2.65		
SD	21.52	17.05	18.81	1.41	1.25	1.20	1.06		

[a]Segregated group above the diagonal; desegregated below.
*Significant at .05 level.
**Significant at .01 level.

Table 2. Coefficients for Segregated and Desegregated Groups--Attitudinal Model

Dependent Variables	Predetermined Variables LEA66	LOA66	LEA68	LOA68	R^2	Constant
Metric Coefficients[a]						
a. Segregated Group						
1) LEA68	.361 (.099)	.009 (.007)			.178	2.14
2) LOA68	3.752 (1.705)	.321 (.112)			.157	15.29
3) LEA72			.042 (.128)	.013 (.008)	.053	3.76
4) LOA72			2.637 (1.690)	.281 (.099)	.184	18.57
Standardized Coefficients						
1a) LEA68	.387	.151				
2a) LOA68	.235	.308				
3a) LEA72			.040	.211		
4a) LOA72			.178	.325		
Metric Coefficients						
b. Desegregated Group						
1) LEA68	.323 (.112)	.005 (.007)			.149	2.35
2) LOA68	3.369 (1.492)	.247 (.097)			.195	23.00
3) LEA72			.382 (.116)	.021 (.009)	.327	1.78
4) LOA72			4.155 (1.804)	.455 (.132)	.330	4.46
Standardized Coefficients						
1a) LEA68	.364	.093				
2a) LOA68	.278	.312				
3a) LEA72			.397	.290		
4a) LOA72			.276	.412		

[a]Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 3. Coefficients for Segregated and Desegregated Groups--Behavioral Model

Dependent Variables	Predetermined Variables LEA68	LOA68	EDATT	R^2	Constant
Metric Coefficients[a]					
a. Segregated Group					
1) EDATT	.063	.011		.062	1.93
	(.110)	(.006)			
2) LEA72	.012	.008	.468	.205	2.86
	(.119)	(.007)	(.125)		
3) LOA72	2.139	.193	7.888	.398	3.37
	(1.464)	(.087)	(1.545)		
Standardized Coefficients					
1a) EDATT	.071	.213			
2a) LEA72	.012	.125	.403		
3a) LOA72	.145	.223	.479		
Metric Coefficients					
b. Desegregated Group					
1) EDATT	.314	.016		.279	.55
	(.106)	(.008)			
2) LEA72	.191	.011	.609	.535	1.45
	(.105)	(.007)	(.125)		
3) LOA72	1.777	.331	7.575	.461	.32
	(1.761)	(.125)	(2.105)		
Standardized Coefficients					
1a) EDATT	.370	.264			
2a) LEA72	.198	.149	.537		
3a) LOA72	.118	.299	.427		

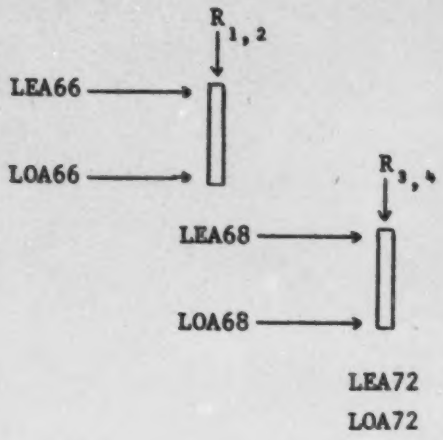
[a]Standard errors enclosed in parentheses.

Table 4. Coefficients for Segregated and Desegregated Groups--Full Attitudinal-Behavioral Model

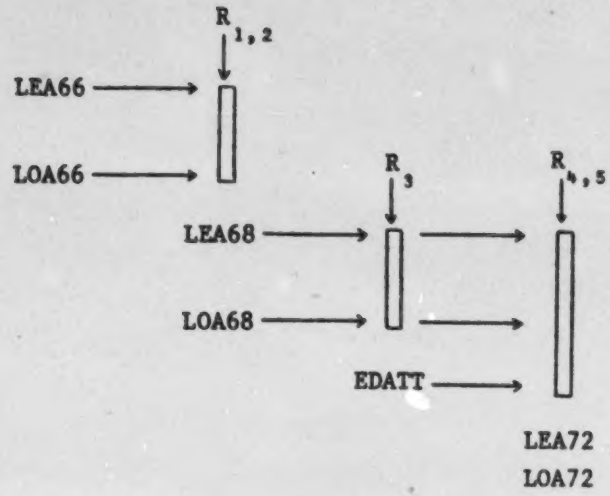
Dependent Variables	Predetermined Variables LEA66	LOA66	LEA68	LOA68	EDATT	R^2	Constant
Metric Coefficients[a]							
a. Segregated Group							
1) EDATT	.364	-.008	-.067	.011	-	.243	1.30
	(.094)	(.006)	(.106)	(.006)			
2) LEA72	.058	.003	-.011	.007	.449	.209	2.66
	(.124)	(.007)	(.127)	(.008)	(.141)		
3) LOA72	.361	.081	1.932	.167	7.948	.406	-.06
	(1.521)	(.089)	(1.568)	(.092)	(1.733)		
Standardized Coefficients							
1a) EDATT	.434	-.139	-.074	.206	-		
2a) LEA72	.060	.048	-.011	.107	.387		
3a) LOA72	.026	.090	.131	.193	.482		
Metric Coefficients							
b. Desegregated Group							
1) EDATT	.287	.011	.216	.007	-	.444	-.41
	(.089)	(.005)	(.099)	(.007)			
2) LEA72	.040	-.006	.175	.012	.621	.547	1.52
	(.098)	(.006)	(.107)	(.008)	(.143)		
3) LOA72	-.678	-.060	1.786	.355	8.305	.466	3.07
	(1.662)	(.099)	(1.810)	(.132)	(2.433)		
Standardized Coefficients							
1a) EDATT	.380	.227	.254	.109	-		
2a) LEA72	.047	-.110	.182	.174	.548		
3a) LOA72	-.051	-.068	.119	.322	.468		

[a]Standard errors enclosed in parentheses.

Attitudinal Model



Behavioral Model



Full Attitudinal-Behavioral Model

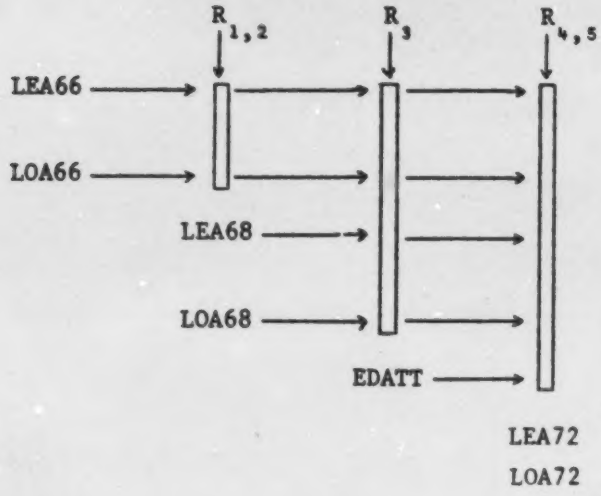


Figure 1. Attitudinal and Behavioral Status Attainment Models